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America as a World Tyrant

A German Historian's Attempt to Prove That Europe is Becoming a Serf of the United States

By FRANCIS HAFFKINE SNOW

THAT the United States, in the rôle of a modern Machiavelli, is scheming successfully to subjugate the whole of war-weakened Europe, is the startling thesis put forward by Dr. Ulrich Kahrstedt, a German historian, in his amazing book, "Pax Americana," which has just appeared in Germany.*

According to this German alarmist, all Europe is on the point of falling ino servitude to the United States, whose whole international policy, he asserts, is an embodiment of State Machiavellianism aimed at complete world domination. This sensational charge, worked out with characteristic German "Gründlichkeit," is based throughout on a historical analogy between the methods by which Rome won her universal hegemony and those by which, since the outbreak of the war in 1914, the United States Government has acquired power of dictation in the political and financial affairs of weakened Europe—a degree of power, he says, without precedent since the days of the Roman Empire. According to Dr. Kahrstedt, Pax Americana is the modern translation of Pax Romana.

The author sees an ominous parallel between Rome's support of Greece against the Macedonians, the greatest military power of the period, and the support given by the United States against Germany and Austria. The United States, it is true, proclaims lofty altruistic motives. So, also, he points out, did Rome, who declared that she had no desire of gain, no ulterior motives, that she wished only to aid a weak nation bullied and intimidated by a stronger one. Yet soon afterward Greece had virtually subscribed to that absolute *deditio* (complete surrender) which was Rome's inexorable condition, and in all the Mediterranean border lands, as well as many miles inland, the Roman Imperium was supreme. So, too, declares this relentless applier of historical analogies, America will soon establish her complete domination over the bleeding and enfeebled States of Europe, who have already come under the yoke of her demand for absolute surrender.

These prophecies, alarming to all European nations, conquerors and conquered alike, are worked out under the author's primary analogy in the following passage:

> When Roman supremacy and the powerlessness of the States of the Greek East became evident about the middle of the second century before Christ, the Greek Polybius undertook to describe to his fellow-countrymen how it could come about that, "in fifty-three years, a time of relatively unprecedented shortness, the entire known world could fall under the sway of one nation." He sought to show the essential changes in the political situation of the world, in political conditions, to explain political methods in relation to those of the past.
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> He harped especially on the Roman method of overthrowing other nations; on the peace terms, surpassing all known before in severity, imposed by victorious Rome upon the vanquished; on the unexampled mercilessness of Roman overlordship. A capitulation to Rome, he said, meant something far different from a capitulation to a State of the old Greek State system, since the Roman always demanded the *deditio*, the unconditional surrender not only of army and weapons, but the transfer of the entire destiny of the vanquished nation to the unrestrained arbitrary sway of the Roman people. * * *
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> The historian who undertakes to describe the events of the present and the essential difference between them and the customary methods in the old European system of States will be in a position to point out the same novelty, in characterizing the Pax Americana, as his forerunner

*Pax Americana: Eine historische Betrachtung am Wendepunkte der Europaischen Geschichte (Pax Americana: A Historical Study at the Turning Point of European History). By Dr. Ulrich Kahrstedt. Munich, 1920: Drei Masken Verlag.

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of 2,000 years ago did in describing the Pax Romana.

Something tremendous, something that never happened before, has happened: great European powers have decided upon the *deditio*—we must keep the Latin word, since the modern language of diplomacy, not knowing the thing itself, has no word for it. And still more has happened; for the first time a non-European nation has been recognized as arbiter over the fate of European nations, not only by one side —as were the Huns, the Saracens, the Turks—but by every nation concerned.

During recent years there occurs in nearly every expression of opinion, in nearly every European political program, this sentence: "The program of the President of the United States is to be carried out." No State and no party can think of a better way of recommending itself to public opinion than by maintaining that its own desires coincide with his principles.

The statements of the German Government and of the German National Assembly in the Spring of 1919 claimed Danzig and the Saar region, not because of the nation's honor, but because of Wilson's Fourteen Points. The Germans of Posen, as well as the Poles there, tried to show that the territory where they lived fulfilled certain conditions laid down by Wilson, in order that this or that decision might be made concerning it. The Germans of Bohemia cite Wilson in their demands for independence, and the Czechoslovaks do likewise in demanding the unity of all the lands of the old Kingdom of Bohemia. * * *

On March 16, 1919, a German Minister of State put into words what seems to the historian the most unprecedented novelty of recent years: he declared that the German people placed itself unreservedly in the hands and subject to the will of America. Nothing like this has been heard in the higher realm of politics since the days of Caesar.

The theory that America, represented by President Wilson, was outplayed and outmanoeuvred at Versailles, is almost derisively rejected by this twentieth century Polybius. His whole mental attitude is emphasized in the charge that the Peace of Versailles is exactly what the United States desired, because its ruthless one-sidedness would pave the way for future wars. "A Europe tearing itself to pieces, not one recovering from its ills, must be the goal of every American statesman who keeps to his true course," Dr. Kahrstedt declares. With Germany and Austria shattered and impotent, with the allied nations financially and economically ruined, America stands forward to seize the sceptre of the world. He continues:

America is not, by a fortunate or unfortunate chain of circumstances, accidentally in the position of determining, as acknowledged arbiter, the conditions of peace in Europe, which terms the European powers, when the constellation of nations changes, can at their own free will fail to observe. On the contrary, she stands as the only great white power, bursting with strength, beside a system of European States, some weakened, some bled white; she stands beside Germany, torn by convulsions, emptied of raw materials and necessities of life, whose industry is bankrupt, whose agriculture is ruined; beside France, which has lost from 7 to 8 per cent. of its population; beside Italy, which is spending the earned capital of the last generation and is transformed again into what she was in the nineteenth century, a land begging for tips and living on tips; beside a vacuum that once was called Russia and Austria.

Only England still keeps her place as an independent power, not because of inner strength—since her merchant marine is hard hit, her foreign markets reduced, her labor conditions deranged, the value of her money sunk lower than at any time since there have been exchange quotations, her monetary system plunged into confusion by the coinage of silver coins partly mixed with base metals, as in the days of later antiquity—but because of her brilliant strategic position at the end of the war.

An epoch has been marked in world history: Europe has reached its end as the centre of power in world politics. Just as the little Greek peninsula, after it had given up being the centre of world happenings for several generations in classical antiquity, yielded first to the larger States of the Near East and then to Italy; just as Italy, at the end of ancient times, yielded the world centre to the regions north of the Alps; just as, in the late Middle Ages, when Italy had once more become the centre, at least for culture and science, her States were broken up by the European nations on the North Sea and Atlantic Ocean, so again the world centre is shifting: it is moving from Europe to the New World. An era has been reached as important as the migration of peoples, as the Renaissance, the Reformation, or the discovery of America, more important than the cannonade at Valmy in which Goethe felt the breath of world history.

The balance of power, in other words, that almost mystical foundation of Europe's international policy for more than

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a century, is, in Dr. Kahrstedt's opinion, on the road toward destruction, and he quotes, in proof of this, the words of Woodrow Wilson of Jan. 22, 1918, in which, "for the first time in 200 years, the balance of power was not treated as the goal of politics and diplomacy, but as an evil that should be eradicated." The only balance of power that America desires, implies the writer, is the balance held in her own hands. To this desire, he declares, all considerations of international justice yield. To America it was a matter of indifference whether France should get Alsace-Lorraine, whether Italy should win Southern Tyrol. Her only preoccupation was that those nations who favored her hegemony should receive advantages in land or otherwise; that those nations who opposed it should be brought low. Logically and legitimately, Germany and Austria should have won the war with their invading armies on French and Italian soil, but it was America's will and to her purpose that they should lose and yield territory. "To America victory and defeat have become matters of indifference —advantages and disadvantages in international agreements are now handed out only by the Protector of the nations." Thus America has become the supreme dictator, and she need not trouble herself to make this concrete; following the example of Rome, she can allow the nations of Europe to preserve a shadowy vestige of independence, exhaust themselves in mutual onslaughts, and become the helpless victims of her economic and financial domination.

Only one nation has the potential power to resist the American project of world domination, says Dr. Kahrstedt, who shows but little confidence even in this possibility. That nation is Japan. Here again he has recourse to parallels with the ancient world. In this comparison Carthage equals Japan:

> A difference in the political constellation between the time of the establishment of Roman overlordship and the present day is indeed apparent. In the ancient world there was, across the sea from Rome, another State worthy of note—Carthage. Today, beyond the great Republic of the west, lies Japan. Here the analogy between the second century before Christ and the present changes: when Rome, with her predominating power, mixed herself in the affairs of the Old World, she had already overthrown this possible rival, broken the back of Carthage in two gigantic wars, reduced it to a half-vassal State, won a firm footing in its hinterland, Numidia. The modern Rome has mixed sooner in world affairs. The modern Carthage is not vanquished and by no means on the downgrade; in Japan's hinterland nobody can seriously menace Japanese economic or political preponderance. Here we have a power at the back of America of a sort with which Rome did not have to reckon.

Just as Hannibal sought to ally Carthage with the great military power Macedonia, continues this pessimistic Teuton, so should Japan have allied herself with Germany, the modern Macedonia, against the domination of the United States, the modern Rome. But this logical development failed, as it had failed with Hannibal, and the outbreak of the World War found Japan fighting among the ranks of Germany's enemies.

But even the strength of Japan cannot hold back the resistless tide of the American will to power. "One may doubt whether there will ever be an opportunity in future to prevent American world domination by means of a coalition." The Pax Americana seems destined to level all. The resistance of England will be in vain:

> The first blow at the old system has torn two great powers to pieces, mortally wounded another, and hit two great European States, France and Italy, despite accessions of territory and military triumphs, almost as hard as the vanquished, in so far as population and economic power are concerned. England alone stands after the war stronger than before it, but she compares in population with America as 1 to 2, and, in another generation, will stand as 1 to 3 or 1 to 4. With her far-flung rule over dissatisfied peoples she offers countless points of attack for any power bent on destroying her.
>
> Opposition of England and America is the next phase in the development of the white race; America is the stronger of the two and is gaining daily in strength; in addition, America may feel sure, if it comes to war to a finish, of finding allies in the ranks of the second and third rate powers which still remain.
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> What has happened between 1914 and 1919 is more than half the road from the balance of power to American world

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domination. It would be strange indeed if the rest of the road were not covered in a few decades.

Dr. Kahrstedt paints an appalling picture of the state to which the wretched nations of Europe will be reduced when that time comes. The destruction of life by the war, combined with the ever-decreasing birth rate and immigration to triumphant America, will depopulate all Europe. Railway stations and harbors will be empty of traffic, great cities will become small cities, grass will grow in the streets of the great industrial centres, even as it grew in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the streets of Antwerp and Bruges; even as it grew, after the end of Italian predominance, in the streets of Florence and Pisa. Carthage and Corinth, from blooming cities, sank to the level of little, thinly peopled towns: so, in Northern France and Belgium, places like Rheims, Amiens and Ypres are destined to decrease and to decay. One great modern European city —Vienna—is already manifestly doomed. Under the American world rule all culture, all freedom of life, all beauty will depart.

If any comment on this picture of "inspissated gloom" were needed it would be found in the picture itself. It is in reality a picture of German mentality. Article after article has been written in Germany in the last few years, even in the period antedating the war, which showed the same German incapacity to grasp a State policy dominated by a purely spiritual and humanitarian ideal. Wholly materialistic in her own Weltanschauung, Germany has been signally unable to interpret the spirit and policy of other nations in any other terms. A cynic among nations, she is temperamentally incapable of believing in altruistic motive. The whole world outside of certain reactionary circles of Germany recognizes today the purity of America's international policy. All Europe, by accepting it, demonstrated this recognition. In erecting the United States into a colossal image of hypocracy and Machiavellianism, Dr. Kahrstedt, it is clear, is but projecting outwardly the image of the Germany before the war, painting the picture of what Germany would have done, and probably would still do, if she were in America's place. The accumulated evidence of the last few years shows that Europe knows our true face; our own actions suffice and will continue to suffice to show the grotesque distortion of Dr. Kahrstedt's picture, and the futility of his sensational prophecies.

Six Years in the Antarctic

TO spend six years of one's life in a completely frozen district of the Antarctic Zone is not a prospect which the average man would anticipate pleasurably. Yet that is the intention of the British Imperial Polar Expedition, whose vanguard, touching here on its way from England, sailed from Norfolk, Va., under Commander John L. Cope on Oct. 28. The program of this exploring party includes a six years' geographical, geological and meteorological survey of the ice-bound continent about the south pole with a view to its commercial development. The party included, besides Commander Cope, N. C. Lester, navigator; George H. Wilkins, 2d, photographer and surveyor, and Thomas W. Bagdhawe, geologist.

The enterprise, said the Commander, would be the biggest exploration expedition that has ever left England. More than 100 men, four ships, thirty dogs, several airplanes and an extensive wireless system are to be employed. A preliminary reconnoissance is to be made of 1,500 miles of unexplored ground and four years are to be spent in close study of the great Antarctic Continent by means of airplanes flying from a network of bases. The final object is a search for the mineral wealth which is known to lie in Antarctica. Commander Cope said:

> We know there is copper, gold, silver, lead and even rubies in the chain of mountains that crosses the poles. Other expeditions have been adventures. This will be a commercial and scientific proposition.

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